

issue is approached from a political perspective, and the political parties have extraordinary sway over the Commission's actions.

Senator MCCAIN and I viewed the BCRA rulemaking process as a test, if you will, a final chance for the FEC to change its approach and to finally begin to faithfully enforce the law in a nonpartisan fashion. We were very disappointed in the result. We have, therefore, concluded that the FEC, as currently constituted, cannot provide the strong and consistent enforcement of the Federal election laws that this country needs. So together we have proposed to replace the agency with a new body, the Federal Election Administration.

We need to have an agency led by people who are respected by both sides of the aisle and will carry out their responsibilities in a nonpartisan manner rather than simply having representatives from each of the parties canceling each other out with a partisan approach to their jobs. Our bill makes individuals who have worked for or served as counsel to parties or candidates ineligible to serve as administrators.

We have no illusions that this reform will be easy to pass. Those who opposed our bill will undoubtedly oppose replacing the agency that is responsible for the rulings that made our bill necessary and that continue to undermine the new law. But reform of the FEC is essential if the will of Congress and BCRA is to be carried out.

I am also pleased to join Senator MCCAIN in introducing a bill to reform the Presidential public funding system. That system did actually work well for seven consecutive Presidential elections from 1976 to 2000. In those elections, Republicans were elected four times and Democrats three times and challengers actually defeated incumbents in three out of the five races where an incumbent was a candidate.

This year, unfortunately, candidates from both parties have opted out of the public funding system for the primaries. Everyone knows the system needs to be updated to keep it functioning in future elections.

I happen to come from a State that had a very good public funding system for State elections for many years. In fact, I won my first race for the Wisconsin Senate, frankly, only because of that system. But the legislature in my State failed to update and revise that system to keep pace with the changing realities and costs of political campaigns, and now hardly anyone uses it. We can't let that happen to the Presidential public funding system.

Again, when I look at the Presiding Officer, I know these kinds of systems can work because they have made them work in her State of Maine. The bill we have introduced is a starting point only, much like the first McCain-Feingold bill in 1995. We want to work with our colleagues on both sides of the aisle to come up with a bill that this

Senate can support to preserve the public funding system that has served the country so well since the excesses of the Watergate era demonstrated that private financing of Presidential elections is really not a very good thing for our democracy.

I hope our colleagues will work with us over this year to perfect a bill that can be quickly passed in the next Congress after this Presidential election has been held.

Senator MCCAIN and I have also introduced a bill to provide free air time to congressional candidates. The cost of television advertising has skyrocketed, and we believe the Nation's broadcasters, who make great profits from a public resource—the airwaves—should contribute to improving the democratic process. I look forward to continuing to discuss this bill with our colleagues as well.

We do not expect any one of these three major reform bills will be considered on the Senate floor this year. But there is one bill that can and should be enacted very quickly. That is a bill we have introduced to require electronic filing of Senate campaign finance reports. Right now, the Senate lags way behind the House in providing current and complete disclosure of contributions to and expenditures on our campaigns. This is really an embarrassment. It is possible the Rules Committee can quickly correct this problem, but if not, Senator MCCAIN and I have introduced a bill to bring the Senate into the 21st century, and we should enact it promptly.

Again, I thank all my colleagues who supported the McCain-Feingold bill. I hope they are as proud of their accomplishment as I am of them. I am convinced we have begun to change this system for the better. Senator MCCAIN discussed there is already evidence of that. I think as the 2004 campaign heats up, we will see plenty more examples of how the system has improved, but we cannot rest on our laurels. We saw what happened when Congress essentially left the field for 20 years after passing the post-Watergate reforms. We must be vigilant to protect what we did in BCRA, and we must look ahead and continue to fight for a campaign finance system that enhances, rather than suffocates, the power of individual citizens and voters in our democracy.

Finally, I again express my admiration and appreciation for all Senator MCCAIN has done on this issue. For one final time I thank him for calling me in late 1994 and saying he wanted to work with me on this project. Next time tell me it is going to take 8 years. I am more than grateful for this terrific opportunity to not only work with a great American hero, but to have my name associated with him to the point where Senator MCCAIN has said that some people think my first name is MCCAIN.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Virginia.

CHURCHILL AND THE GREAT REPUBLIC EXHIBIT

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I was privileged today to go to the Library of Congress where, under the auspices of Mr. Billington, the Librarian of Congress, a very wonderful exhibit is opening entitled—and I hold up the volume: "Churchill and the Great Republic." The exhibit formally opens tonight.

In attendance today were one of Churchill's daughters, his grandson, and other members of the Churchill family. It was a very moving experience. I encourage my colleagues to find time in the next week or 10 days to avail themselves of this very historical exhibit put together by Dr. Billington.

The ceremony today, marking the opening, was attended by the President of the United States, and I, together with my good friend Senator LUGAR, Senator BOB BENNETT, and a number of Members of the House of Representatives, were privileged to be in attendance.

I ask unanimous consent that following my remarks, the full text of the President's speech at this auspicious occasion be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. WARNER. Madam President, I think we are at a remarkable crossroads of history. In terms of the survival of republics, this is about the great republic, about freedom, and about all of those things we hold very dear.

I do not intend to make a political speech, but I say without reservation I think President Bush has given remarkable leadership, certainly in the aftermath of 9/11, an unprecedented attack on our sovereignty, the people of the United States of America, parallel in many respects to Pearl Harbor but indeed more awesome than Pearl Harbor in some respects. We are fortunate to have at the helm in the United States a strong President, a man of courage and of wisdom. I try in my modest way to support his leadership and that of those he has selected as his principal team.

I found this speech very remarkable today, and I would like to read just a paragraph:

When World War II ended, Winston Churchill immediately understood that the victory was incomplete. Half of Europe was occupied by an aggressive empire. And one of Churchill's own finest hours came after the war ended in a speech he delivered in Fulton, Missouri. Churchill warned of the new danger facing free peoples. In stark but measured tones, he spoke of the need for free nations to unite against the communist expansion. Marshal Stalin denounced the speech as a "call to war." A prominent American journalist called the speech an "almost catastrophic blunder." In fact, Churchill had set a simple truth before the world: that tyranny would not be ignored or appeased without great risk. And he boldly asserted that freedom—freedom was the right of men and women on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Churchill understood that the Cold War was not just a standoff of armies, but a conflict of visions—a clear divide between those who put their faith in ideologies of power, and those who put their faith in the choices of free people. The successors of Churchill and Roosevelt—leaders like Truman, and Reagan and Thatcher—led a confident alliance that held firm as communism collapsed under the weight of its own contradictions.

Today, we are engaged in a different struggle. Instead of an armed empire, we face stateless networks. Instead of massed armies, we face deadly technologies that must be kept out of the hands of terrorists and outlaw regimes.

Yet in some ways, our current struggles or challenges are similar to those Churchill knew. The outcome of the war on terror depends on our ability to see danger and to answer it with strength and purpose. One by one, we are finding and dealing with the terrorists, drawing tight what Winston Churchill called a “closing net of doom.” This war also is a conflict of visions. In their worship of power, their deep hatreds, their blindness to innocence, the terrorists are successors to the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. And we are the heirs of the tradition of liberty, defenders of the freedom, the conscience and the dignity of every person. Others before us have shown bravery and moral clarity in this cause. The same is now asked of us, and we accept the responsibilities of history.

I find those words very moving, and with a deep sense of humility I commend this President.

This is a picture of Churchill and Roosevelt. Years hence, there will be a picture of President Bush and Prime Minister Blair. If I may say, again with a sense of humility, historians will eventually parallel the Churchill-Roosevelt era with the Bush-Blair era, when two individuals of somewhat contradictory ideologies and, if we may say, party background, nevertheless came together in this hour in the aftermath of 9/11 and formed an alliance, brought together other nations that valued freedom, and formed a coalition that has now deposed a tyrant who, by any fair standards, was indeed a danger to the free world.

I say to the President with complete respect, I think historians someday may call this speech today a runner-up to the Fulton, MO, speech.

I yield the floor.

EXHIBIT 1

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT ON WINSTON CHURCHILL AND THE WAR ON TERROR

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you all very much. I'm honored to join you as we welcome a magnificent collection to the Library of Congress. I've always been a great admirer of Sir Winston Churchill, admirer of his career, admirer of his strength, admirer of his character—so much so that I keep a stern-looking bust of Sir Winston in the Oval Office. He watches my every move. (Laughter.)

Like few other men in this or any other age, Churchill is admired throughout the world. And through the writings and his personal effects, we feel the presence of the great man, himself. As people tour this exhibit, I'm sure they'll be able to smell the whiskey and the cigars. (Laughter.)

I appreciate Jim Billington for hosting this exhibit, and for hosting me. It's good to see Marjorie. I appreciate the members of Winston Churchill's family who have come: Lady Mary Soames, who is a daughter; Winston

Churchill III, the man bears a mighty name, and his wife, Luce; Celia Sandys, who is a granddaughter. Thank you all for coming. We're honored to have you here in America.

I'm pleased to see my friend, the Ambassador from the United Kingdom to America, Sir David Manning and Lady Manning here, as well. I appreciate the members of Congress who have come—the Chairman. We've got a couple of mighty powerful people here, Winston, with us today—Chairmen Lugar and Warner, Senator Bennett, Congressmen Bill Young, Doug Bereuter, Jerry Lewis, Tom Petri, Vern Ehlers and Jane Harman. I'm glad you all are here, thanks for taking time to come.

This exhibit bears witness to one of the most varied and consequential lives of modern history. Churchill's 90 years on earth, joined together two ages. He stood in the presence of Queen Victoria, who first reigned in 1837. He was the Prime Minister to Elizabeth II, who reigns today. Sir Winston met Theodore Roosevelt, and he met Richard Nixon.

Over his long career, Winston Churchill knew success and he knew failure, but he never passed unnoticed. He was a prisoner in the Boer War, a controversial strategist in the Great War. He was the rallying voice of the Second World War, and a prophet of the Cold War. He helped abolish the sweat shops. He gave coal miners an eight-hour day. He was an early advocate of the tank. And he helped draw boundary lines that remain on the map of the Middle East. He was an extraordinary man.

In spare moments, pacing and dictating to harried secretaries, he produced 15 books. He said, “History will be kind to me—for I intend to write it.” (Laughter.) History has been kind to Winston Churchill, as it usually is to those who help save the world.

In a decade of political exile during the 1930s, Churchill was dismissed as a nuisance and a crank. When the crisis he predicted arrived, nearly everyone knew that only one man could rescue Britain. The same trait that had made him an outcast eventually made him the leader of his country. Churchill possessed, in one writer's words, an “absolute refusal, unlike many good and prudent men around him, to compromise or to surrender.”

In the years that followed, as a great enemy was defeated, a great partnership was formed. President Franklin Roosevelt found in Churchill a confidence and resolve that equaled his own. As they led the allies to victory, they passed many days in each other's company, and grew in respect and friendship. The President once wrote to the Prime Minister, “It is fun to be in the same decade with you.” And this sense of fellowship and common purpose between our two nations continues to this day. I have also been privileged to know a fine British leader, a man of conscience and unshakable determination. In his determination to do the right thing, and not the easy thing, I see the spirit of Churchill in Prime Minister Tony Blair. (Applause.)

When World War II ended, Winston Churchill immediately understood that the victory was incomplete. Half of Europe was occupied by an aggressive empire. And one of Churchill's own finest hours came after the war ended in a speech he delivered in Fulton, Missouri. Churchill warned of the new danger facing free peoples. In stark but measured tones, he spoke of the need for free nations to unite against communist expansion. Marshal Stalin denounced the speech as a “call to war.” A prominent American journalist called the speech an “almost catastrophic blunder.” In fact, Churchill had set a simple truth before the world: that tyranny could not be ignored or appeased without great risk. And he boldly asserted that

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The tradition of liberty has advocates in every culture and in every religion. Our great challenges support the momentum of freedom in the greater Middle East. The stakes could not be higher. As long as that region is a place of tyranny and despair and anger, it will produce men and movements that threaten the safety of Americans and our friends. We seek the advance of democracy for the most practical of reasons: because democracies do not support terrorists or threaten the world with weapons of mass murder.

America is pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East. We're challenging the enemies of reform, confronting the allies of terror, and expecting a higher standard from our friends. For too long, American policy looked away while men and women were oppressed, their rights ignored and their hopes stifled. That era is over, and we can be confident. As in Germany, and Japan, and Eastern Europe, liberty will overcome oppression in the Middle East. (Applause.)

True democratic reform must come from within. And across the Middle East, reformers are pushing for change. From Morocco, to Jordan, to Qatar, we're seeing elections and new protections for women and the stirring of political pluralism. When the leaders of reform ask for our help, America will give it. (Applause.)

I've asked the Congress to double the budget for the National Endowment for Democracy, raising its annual total to \$80 million. We will focus its new work on bringing free elections and free markets and free press and free speech and free labor unions to the Middle East. The National Endowment gave vital service in the Cold War, and now we are renewing its mission of freedom in the war on terror. (Applause.)

Freedom of the press and the free flow of ideas are vital foundations of liberty. To cut through the hateful propaganda that fills the airwaves in the Muslim world and to promote open debate, we're broadcasting the message of tolerance and truth in Arabic and Persian to tens of millions. In some cities of the greater Middle East, our radio stations

are rated number one amongst younger listeners. Next week, we will launch a new Middle East television network called, Alhurra—Arabia for “the free one.” The network will broadcast news and movies and sports and entertainment and educational programming to millions of people across the region. Through all these efforts, we are telling the people in the Middle East the truth about the values and the policies of the United States, and the truth always serves the cause of freedom. (Applause.)

America is also taking the side of reformers who have begun to change the Middle East. We’re providing loans and business advice to encourage a culture of entrepreneurship in the Middle East. We’ve established business internships for women, to teach them the skills of enterprise, and to help them achieve social and economic equality. We’re supporting the work of judicial reformers who demand independent courts and the rule of law. At the request of countries in the region, we’re providing Arabic language textbooks to boys and girls. We’re helping education reformers improve their school systems.

The message to those who long for liberty and those who work for reform is that they can be certain they have a strong ally, a constant ally in the United States of America. (Applause.)

Our strategy and our resolve are being tested in two countries, in particular, the nation of Afghanistan was once the primary training ground for al Qaeda, the home of a barbaric regime called the Taliban. It now has a new constitution that guarantees free election and full participation by women. (Applause.)

The nation of Iraq was for decades an ally of terror ruled by the cruelty and caprice of one man. Today, the people of Iraq are moving toward self-government. Our coalition is working with the Iraqi Governing Council to draft a basic law with a bill of rights. Because our coalition acted, terrorists lost a source of reward money for suicide bombings. Because we acted, nations of the Middle East no longer need to fear reckless aggression from a ruthless dictator who had the intent and capability to inflict great harm on his people and people around the world. Saddam Hussein now sits in a prison cell, and Iraqi men and women are no longer carried to torture chambers and rape rooms, and dumped in mass graves. Because the Baathist regime is history, Iraq is no longer a grave and gathering threat to free nations. Iraq is a free nation. (Applause.)

Freedom still has enemies in Afghanistan and Iraq. All the Baathists and Taliban and terrorists know that if democracy were to be, it would undermine violence—their hope for violence and innocent death. They understand that if democracy were to be undermined, then the hopes for change throughout the Middle East would be set back. That’s what they know. That’s what they think. We know that the success of freedom in these nations would be a landmark event in the history of the Middle East, and the history of the world. Across the region, people would see that freedom is the path to progress and national dignity. A thousand lies would stand refuted, falsehoods about the incompatibility of democratic values in Middle Eastern cultures. And all would see, in Afghanistan and Iraq, the success of free institutions at the heart of the greater Middle East.

Achieving this vision will the work of many nations over time, requiring the same strength of will and confidence of purpose that propelled freedom to victory in the defining struggles of the last century. Today, we’re at a point of testing, when people and nations show what they’re made out of.

America will never be intimidated by thugs and assassins. We will do what it takes. We will not leave until the job is done. (Applause.)

We will succeed because when given a choice, people everywhere, from all walks of life, from all religions, prefer freedom to violence and terror. We will succeed because human beings are not made by the Almighty God to live in tyranny. We will succeed because of who we are—because even when it is hard, Americans always do what is right.

And we know the work that has fallen to this generation. When great striving is required of us, we will always have an example in the man we honor today. Winston Churchill was a man of extraordinary personal gifts, yet his greatest strength was his unshakable confidence in the power and appeal of freedom. It was the great fortune of mankind that he was there in an hour of peril. And it remains the great duty of mankind to advance the cause of freedom in our time.

May God bless the memory of Winston Churchill. May God continue to bless the United States of America. (Applause.)

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized.

THE PRESIDENT’S BUDGET

Mr. HARKIN. Madam President, I have had a chance now to look over the President’s budget. What with being out of our offices and stuck over in the Capitol and not being able to see some of the people we were supposed to see and conduct business as usual, I have had the chance to look at the budget. Of course, I had heard it was kind of bad. I read some of the preliminary reports, but it was not until I really started digging into it and looking at some of the fine print and getting out a calculator and adding it all up that I realized how stupefyingly bad this budget is. It almost defies logic.

After going through it, I can sum up his election year budget in four words: More of the same. More tax cuts for the wealthy, more massive spending increases on things such as Star Wars and, of course, that nice trip to Mars we are going to take, more giveaways to special interests, and more massive budget deficits.

This is Mr. Bush’s fourth budget submission, so now I think we can take stock. We can size up the full 4-year fiscal record of this administration. Quite frankly, the irresponsible actions of this administration over 4 years boggles the mind.

In just 4 years, Mr. Bush has put in place trillions of dollars in tax cuts, overwhelmingly for the very wealthy. In spite of the huge deficits, the President now is demanding that those tax cuts be made permanent. At the same time, he is proposing tens of billions of dollars on new spending programs, and this includes untold billions for trips to the Moon and Mars. There is billions more for Star Wars, which Mr. Bush intends to build now and test later.

President Bush has taken the projected 10-year surplus of some \$5 trillion that he inherited from President Clinton and turned that into a projected 10-year deficit of nearly \$5 tril-

lion. Think about that. In 4 short years, this President and this administration have taken a \$5 trillion surplus and turned it into a \$5 trillion deficit, a \$10 trillion swing. As I said, it just boggles the mind.

By any measure, this is an astonishing record of economic mismanagement and economic malpractice. In fact, I challenge my colleagues to cite any President in the 215-year history of our Republic who has compiled such a record of sheer recklessness.

The White House now says the deficit in the current fiscal year will be \$521 billion. That is bad enough, but that is not the worst of it. Far more dangerous are the long-term, permanent, structural deficits that will result. Mr. Bush dares to claim he has charted a course to cut the deficit in half in 5 years. This has about as much credibility as his claim that Iraq possessed massive stockpiles of weapons of mass destruction. The fact is that, after 4 years, Mr. Bush has zero credibility on the budget.

Let’s look at his past projections and promises. In 2001, Mr. Bush promised: “We can proceed with tax relief without fear of budget deficits.” That turned out to be untrue.

In 2002, Mr. Bush reassured us: “Our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short term.” That turned out, also, to be untrue.

In 2003, Mr. Bush again assured us: “Our current deficit is not large by historical standards and is manageable.” That also is turning out to be untrue.

This year, President Bush claims that the massive deficits he has created will be magically cut in half in 5 years’ time. Is there any Senator in either party who believes that promise? I don’t think so. Mr. Bush has not just created a structural budget deficit, he has created a structural credibility deficit. Few credible economists believe him anymore.

The Washington Post sized up this budget in an editorial yesterday morning. The editorial was titled “Bogus Budgeting.” The editorial stated that:

The Bush administration 2005 budget is a masterpiece of disingenuous blame-shifting, dishonest budgeting and irresponsible governing.

The reality is that the deficits will persist at high levels even if the economy stays healthy. Year after year they will stay at high levels, until the baby boomers start to retire, and then the deficits will explode.

If we look at the operating budget—that is not counting the surplus that comes from the Social Security taxes—the picture becomes crystal clear. Under the operating budget—again, excluding Social Security surpluses—Bush has a huge \$675 billion deficit for this year. That is equal to 5.9 percent of our GDP, our gross domestic product, the second highest operating deficit since 1946.

But President Bush claims this operating deficit will drop to \$470 billion in just 2 years. Then, according to his own